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As Tessmann has already observed, there are no transversal flutes or clarinets of the type known as *toré*. A signal horn made of a simple piece of thick bamboo, with a lateral opening, closed on one side and open on the other, is invariably carried in the canoe for signaling the arrival of people and for calling them.

Panpipes commonly consist of eight tubes of bamboo (the longest being 15 cm.), joined by two pairs of rattan lashings (fig. 7, *b*). Panpipes are not played in pairs. The Tukuna name for them is čë'ku or dure'tu (Loreto). Loreto is the name of a sub-Andean department of Peru, pronounced in the Tukuna manner "dure'tu" which makes one suppose that the instrument has come from that region.

There is a kind of ocarina (pu|'čane) made from the seed of the *umarí* (*Porqueiba* sp.), and a clay whistle in the shape of a frog (və:'tavë, a name which imitates the frog's croak). Tessmann erroneously calls it *tó'ke*,[*] which is actually the name of a large megaphone (tə'/k|).

The Tukuna learned from the Neobrazilians not only how to play the violin but also how to make it, and on the Rio Jacurapá there was an Indian whose violins were sought after by civilized persons—until the authorities of São Paulo de Olivença ordered his arrest for tax evasion (see p. 138). In spite of the attraction this instrument has for the Tukuna, they produce very little music from it, never playing their tribal melodies but only those which they learn from festivities of Neobrazilians in the region, who, for their part, are far from possessing the musical talent of the northeastern Brazilians.

Pottery

One finds evidence in the kitchen that the Tukuna still produce pottery. This art is principally practiced by women, but not exclusively so, for many men also perform this task to perfection, whereas many women never devote themselves to it.

In all the igarapés inhabited by the Tukúna, a plastic potters' clay of good quality is found more or less frequently; it almost always occurs in the sloughs at the foot of the high bluffs along the river. This raw material is accorded a certain respect, since its patron is an aquatic monster, dyë'vaë, which at times presents itself in the form of the western rainbow.

The clay is said to become useless if a pregnant woman touches or even approaches it: it will not bind, and the jars, on drying, will shatter into pieces. It is considered very dangerous for a woman in this condition to go to the bank to fetch clay, as illustrated by the following legend.[†]

> Once, a group of women went to a bank to collect clay for pottery. A woman big with child insisted on accompanying them in spite of the others counseling her not to. The others had already dug out the clay that they needed and had piled it on the bank, where they were still standing when the pregnant woman, seeing nothing suspicious, went down to dig clay, too. She squatted down in the middle of the pit, which was half-filled with water, and took out clay with both hands. Suddenly, dyë'vaë, down at the bottom, allowed a muffled roar to be heard. The women on the bank heard it and cried out: "The owner of the clay is angry! Come up quickly!"
>
> "What is the matter?" replied the pregnant one. "I heard nothing." And she continued to dig. She had just taken out a good quantity of clay when a muffled thunderclap was heard.

[*] Tessmann, p. 561.

[†] Cf. the legend of tau/čipë, p. 120.

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VIII. LIFE CYCLE

Pregnancy

After intercourse, conception depends on the will of the goddess ta-ë': it is she who gives the fetus its body and soul. When, overburdened with tasks, ta-ë' grows careless, the child is born with defects in mind or body. 842 [776]

We have already noted (pp. 22 and 46) the effects of a pregnant woman's intrusion in a clay pit or at maize planting, but on the whole there are few restrictions for her. She eats peppers lest the fetus become too fat, which would complicate birth; she eats the tripes of the alligator (jacaré-tinga) so that the child shall be born with a clear skin; and drinking the water of the *cipó barí* during pregnancy produces the same effect, as does staring at persons of white skin. Whoever eats double bananas will have only daughters. A real diet during pregnancy appears never to have been prescribed. If a girl is bitten by a type of ant called kaë'na, she will subsequently have children of a dark complexion. 843 [825]

Voluntary abortion.—A woman sometimes produces abortion in order to avoid the shame of having a "disqualified" child, i.e., one that belongs to no clan because its father is a Neobrazilian. Thus, an Indian girl named Neca, of the Rio Jacurapá, finding herself pregnant by a Neobrazilian, confessed her condition to her mother; both then concealed the affair from the girl's father, whom they feared, because he was a somewhat violent man. When Neca could no longer hide her pregnancy, the mother took her into the garden patch, where she succeeded in aborting the child by treading on the girl's belly. 847

According to legend, after an abortion, the cadaver of the fetus goes to ta-ë', who cooks it in a pot until it disintegrates. When the pan becomes full, the goddess keeps it until the death of the sinner, and thus addresses the soul when it arrives: "Thou hast slain the child I gave thee; now eat of thy property!" The sinful mother must eat the stew to the last morsel, however much she may beg and wail that she can eat no more. 847 775

Twins.—Twins (ta tarë'/pį; tarë, two) are not overly welcome since they increase the mother's work, but they are not killed. I myself knew a married couple in Igarapé de São Jeronymo who had twins; the reason was given me by an Indian, who asserted that the mother, while yet a child, had eaten double bananas. Others simply say that twins are due only to the will of ta-ë'. 845

Birth

When parturition is near, the husband erects a temporary platform close to the ground and hidden in a thicket some thirty paces behind the house. As soon as the pains begin, the woman is conducted there, where her hammock and mosquito bar are rigged up, and a piece of tururí bark cloth is spread over the platform. Her mother, aunt, or eldest sister attends her, the husband remaining in the house. If there are difficulties, a medicine man is sent for; smoking a tauary cigarette, he makes gestures with his hands as if he were opening some invisible object from below. 844 [755]

Blows on the back with the mouth of a manioc press are also recommended in difficult labor. The woman squats on her heels on the platform, with her arms

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The father may drink paiauará in small quantities, but only if it is sweet; drinking more would make the child a drunkard and would also cause it to cry excessively. Even after the period of restriction the father may not approach his child if he has touched some object that might harm it. At Igarapé de São Jeronymo I was told that the father is not subject to any dietary or other restrictions, provided that he does not touch the child.

The Tukuna, like the Apinayé,[1] believe that the acts of the parents are reflected in their children's health, and vice versa, not only in the period immediately subsequent to birth but also throughout life. Thus, when a sick person submits to treatment by a shaman (pagé) the parents as well as the children must for one week avoid eating salt, peppers, and viscous fish.

Once the umbilical cord has fallen off, it is thrust among the roots of a *pupunheira* tree or, better yet, into a crevice opened by the edge of an ax in the bark of the *tapereba*, since this tree "does not die," even when chopped to pieces. After the birth of a child, the husband avoids his wife for one year, more or less.

Infancy and Childhood

The infant is carried slung across the shoulders in a sling, tipoia (pl. 8, *b*), some ten centimeters wide, which is double, so that the child sits on one strip while the other supports its back. This sling (T., na:-čim|ª) was formerly woven of cotton or tucum fiber, or even at times made of tururí bark cloth. Nowadays it is almost always of purchased material.

Amulets protect the child against disease purely by their magical powers. Thus, the child has the skull, minus the beak, of a *miuá* (*Phalacrocorax vigua*) suspended from its neck so that it shall not fall sick of fever. A necklace of certain seeds with a penetrating odor protects it against catarrh; and the claw of a *tatú canastra* (*Chelonicus gigas*), hung from the wrist, guarantees the child's becoming an expert worker, especially a good canoewright. The Tukuna have not the slightest conception of the "evil eye."

If one goes at night into the dark jungle with a nursling, the infant runs the risk of losing the soul from its body. To prevent this, one must whistle and call the child by name. The tree spirits also like to steal children's souls, as do the water demons called dyë'vaë (see p. 119), which threaten it during its bath in the igarapé; for this reason the mother is accustomed to thrust a magic arrow into the bath water. Children less than two years old crying alone attract the shades of the dead (na-čii'), who separate their souls from their bodies. All these circumstances require the intervention of a shaman. The child receives its name on the day after birth, as already described (p. 60). At the age when they begin to crawl, children are subjected to a ceremony called tẹ-ta' ẹẹmat| (paint them), at which they are daubed with red urucú and decorated with feathers plucked from parrots.

Children submit—formerly at the age of two, nowadays at four years or later—to a second festive ceremony called bua tẹ ta bë'ëru (pluck the children's hair), at which the ears are also pierced and boys have the septum of the nose pierced. Today only the hair is plucked—if, indeed, it is not cut with scissors—and the girls' ear lobes are pierced.

[1] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, p. 102.

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The sewing is done with an eyed bone needle and tucum thread. For certain types of disguises, trouser legs are made from the same piece, and sleeves of attached pieces are obligatory. Some forms cover the wearer from the head to the middle of the calf with one section. Some of these also have sleeves, others only lateral openings through which the arms are thrust. In still others the wearer's arms remain within the garment, being held close to the body and invisible. Those which do not cover the head are closed about the neck by a threaded string; the garments covering the head have the face represented in the appropriate place on the same piece. The costumes with the head fashioned as a separate section have a kind of cap or sack of tururí that covers the entire head to the breast.

In manufacturing face masks, no matter what the design may be, the Tukuna seem to vie with one another in producing the most horrible countenances, with cheeks of black pitch from the *unaní* (*Moronobea* sp.), protuberant eyes of mirror fragments (formerly bits of mother-of-pearl), great, circular, protruding ears, an enormous, booked or pointed nose, and a distorted mouth with huge, threatening teeth.

Other masks simply have a face painted on the tururí. Further, a few face masks carved of wood (for example, those which represent the sun) have pleasant, human features. Still other masks cover only the head to the torso with one piece, but enlarge the stature of the invisible wearer to the height of two and a half meters by means of a body woven of uarumã strips that rests on the bearer's shoulders. This type ends in an artificial head, which always represents some animal, and never the grimace of a demon.

All the costumes, whether they end in trouser legs or a skirt, have at the hem fringes of envira de matamatá or tururí, which fall to, or almost to, the ground.

The most characteristic motifs represented are the following:

ɔ'ma, the demon of the wind. (Pl. 16, *a*.) The costume is always of red tururí, with legs and sleeves and with few designs. It is equipped with an erect phallus a half meter in length, slightly conical in shape, and testicles the size of a closed fist. It is with this phallus that Wind knocks down the trees of the jungle. The face mask is enormous, seventy centimeters or more in length, and of corresponding width. The ears are almost a half meter in diameter. I also saw one costume that had on its head an enormous bush of vines and second-growth plants which made it even more disproportionate. In his hand ɔ'ma bears a globular whistle (pl. 16, *d*) with an attached air tube, made of a small calabash and a bamboo tube, the whole covered with tururí. With this instrument, which produces a low, mournful cry, he imitates the noise of a storm. Especially when the hour approaches to hand over the mask, ɔ'ma attacks the spectators with his phallus, particularly the men, since the women soon flee, and tries to knock them down during the pursuit. If he turns against the women, it may happen that one of the more resolute, amid general hilarity, will seize and hold him by the phallus. Speaking in Portuguese to the Neobrasilians, the Tukuna call ɔ'ma the "Mother [!] of the Wind."

bërug, the female butterfly demon. (Pl. 17, *b*.) This demon is also represented in a red tururí costume with sleeves and trouser legs. On the chest are painted the elongated breasts that characterize her. On the outside of both sleeves is a wheel of cipó, 60 cm. in diameter and covered with tururí, representing the wings. The face mask, however, is much smaller than that of the preceding costume. The nose is fashioned of a spiraled strip of liana, in imitation of a butterfly's proboscis.

dyë'vaë, the water demon. (Pl. 16, *c*.) This figure is 2.6 m. tall, not counting the feelers. It has neither arms nor legs. The head, which resembles that of a catfish, has a mouth opened upward and is garnished with long feelers.

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292 ma'vị, the araparyrana tree. (Pl. 18, *b*.) The fruits of this tree have an odor and anciently had an agreeable taste, since lost because the culture hero ə'pi dropped them into curare before 776 leaving the earth. The costume of red or white tururí, which sometimes has sleeves but never 532 trouser legs, covers the wearer from head to foot. The faceless head is conical and has on top a plume of uarumã stripe to the tips of which are attached small white placques of burity frond-stalks, rhomboid or divided, which represent the fruit of the araparyrana. The characteristic ornament of the costume consists of a painted, toothed J, simple or double. A rod is carried in [534] the right hand, while the left holds a long, slim bamboo whistle introduced into the mouth through a small orifice in the tururí; today this whistle is almost always replaced by the long stem of a papaya leaf.

čavị', maize. (Pl. 17, *a*.) The outfit, of white tururí painted with vertical stripes, has no face, no arms, and no legs. The conical head ends in a tuft representing a corn tassel. Two imitations of ears of corn are attached to each side, one about the height of the elbow, the other just below.

tɔị', caiarára monkey (*Cebus albifrons*) (pl. 18, *a*) and taikjrë', prego monkey (*Cebus fatuellus*) (pl. 18, *c*) are the two commonest types of costumes. Individually, the representation differs greatly, and in neither can one distinguish the animals whose names the represented demons bear, except that one or the other is shown with a phallus in the shape characteristic of the species. The faces are always diabolical; the garments, of red or white tururí, have no trouser legs and rarely have sleeves, the arms protruding through lateral openings.

The imagination of the wearers has free play in the ornamental painting of the 292 tururí, so that one observes modern airplanes represented side by side with tradi- [177] tional designs. These outfits are characterized by rattles suspended by wooden 293 hooks, or on fantastically long and thick spears, or even on a smooth stick of wood [534] 25 cm. in length by 2 cm. in diameter; with these the masqueraders rhythmically beat against the hooks. Once I saw nine of these masqueraders holding a log as thick as a man's arm horizontally before them, with which they beat out the measure. Another carried a handful of slim, pointed rods of anajá ribs or similar material, which he threw, two or three at a time, like assegais, against the wall of the girl's seclusion room, where they remained sticking. The spectators shouted for him to throw them at the figure of the deer painted on the wall.

These tɔị' masqueraders always comport themselves in a very impetuous, cocky 881 manner, beating on the house thatch before entering, and galloping furiously to and fro through the center of the festive house, with no regard for those who may be inside. After a while they present themselves in a threatening attitude before the jars, demanding drink, some of the tɔị' giving in exchange "their son" (pl. 16, *d*), a doll of tururí in more or less human form with a demon's face, which [524] is carried suspended from the backs and which after the feast serves as a plaything of the little girls.

Those who have a face mask in one piece with the body costume drink by means [415] of the tube of a papaya leafstalk. Afterward they again race off to disappear in the jungle, where they remove and store their masks; they never rest or sit down while in the house. As soon as a masked dancer, regardless of his type, enters the house, a few persons, sometimes even the owner or his wife, array themselves behind him and, holding on to his costume, accompany him in his mad career through the dwelling; to escort the taikjrë' or tɔị' thus is no simple matter, but it forms the favorite entertainment of the older children of both sexes. Probably this is what Spix meant to show in his plate with the two little girls holding the fringes of the masquerader in front of the rest.

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IV. MAGIC AND RELIGION

The Shaman

According to Bates, each Tukuna band "obeys [†] a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, and possesses its pagé or 'medicine-man' who fans their superstitions."[1] The impression I had was that magical knowledge constituted a prerequisite for the office of chief, but very few of those who have this knowledge show at the same time the necessary qualifications for the post. Today not one chief remains, but there are still shamans of greater or less efficiency and prestige; and since this job represents no public function but rather a personal and private one, there are bands with more than one shaman. The Tukuna term for shamans is dyu'vịta. The origin of their art is given as follows.

When auë'mana was two years old, she used to cry a great deal during the night. Her mother became angered by this and expelled her from the house, closing the door. auë'mana wept alone in the yard the whole night until a *cunaüará* toad[2] came and carried her off. She remained in his company until she became a young girl, learning from him all the magical arts, from killing to curing by suction. Later she returned to live among men in order to practice magic. Many learned the art she taught; theretofore magic was unknown.

auë'mana grew very old and, when her physical strength deserted her, she asked some girls to prepare her food; but these refused because they did not like her. Then during the night, while they were sleeping, auë'mana extracted their leg bones from their bodies. The next morning they saw her seated beside her fire eating the marrow of the bones, since this was her only food. However, the girls could no longer get up.

When this became widely known, the people slew auë'mana, cutting her neck with a stone knife. She caught the blood that ran down, in her cupped hand, blew it toward the sun, and said: "ʊ:u ta'ta pö gị na ñe'i pö ñu a'ëö!" ["The soul enter into thee, also!"] Since then, the soul of a victim enters the body of the killer.

This legend shows that between the sorcerer who inflicts disease and the curing shaman who removes disease, there is not that essential difference to which Tessmann refers.[3] According to him, the Tukuna name for the curer[4] is "dyo'wue"[5] and for the sorcerer "nokewue," a name which I have never heard and cannot explain. Once in a great while I have heard the sorcerer called dyuv|k|, but k| means only "person," and in general the term dyu'vịta is employed for both kinds of shaman. The shaman may kill one person and cure another. The fact that he possesses, among other magical attributes, the power of *espinhos*, "thorns," does not mean that these are all he uses; on the other hand, if he does not possess this power, he may acquire it at any time. One may constantly observe that among the Tukuna no shaman is ever free from suspicion.

Source of power.—Magical powers of the shamans stem from their relations with tree spirits (nai[6] ar| ma:'ṅ). These trees have nothing to do with those whose souls (naa'ë), as we have seen (p. 57), roam the night in the form of a spotted jaguar, puma, dog, or agouti. Luckily, not all trees have spirits; otherwise, clearings could not be made, since the planter must spare spirits' trees on pain of being shot by

[1] Bates, p. 401.
[2] *Hyla venulosa*; T., ë'pivë.
[3] Tessmann, pp. 562, 563.
[4] The word used is *curados*, but the sense indicated is *curandeiro*, "curer."—Trans.
[5] T., dyu'vịta; see above.—Trans.

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the spirits' arrows. Also, the spirits of dead trees may be present anywhere in the neighborhood and wound those with whom they collide. A person with an overheated body feels the arrow wound from a spirit as a fillip with the fingertips. This is the supposed cause of some deaths, due ultimately to the malefactions of some shaman. The most dangerous tree of all is the *caapi cipó* (*Banisteria* sp.), which the Tukuna know only by its Peruvian name of *ayahuasca*, sometimes corrupted into čučuva'ču. It is strange that they are unaware of the plant's qualities; because of this ignorance they do not prepare from it any narcotic, as do the neighboring Indians. Thus, they know that the Kokáma possess a plant which produces visions; but only one Tukuna, now deceased, learned from them its use as a narcotic, and he did not pass the knowledge along to anyone else.

According to my informants, the chief Domingos ču'nekį, a curing shaman (p. 65) had a different method of stimulating visions. There is a cultivated tree with small, white, calycine flowers which, when broken open, exhibit a liquid. Placing drops of this in his eyes, ču'nekį succeeded in seeing the demon dyë'vaë (see p. 120), as well as other demons (ũɔɔ'), and the tree spirits; he could also discover his enemies. Other trees possessing spirits are the kapok, *sumahuma*, whose spirit is identified with the forest demon Caapora of the lingua geral, the *manixy* (?), the *açacú* (*Hura crepitans*), the muirapiranga, the *ucuhuba* (*Virola* sp.), and a tree which reaches at the most a diameter of fifteen centimeters and is called in Tukuna na'i^{a}-ya-dyu'į, that is, "shaman log." Its wood has an odor similar to that of laurel, and the soil around its trunk is always barren.

Instruction of a shaman.—Any person who wishes to become a shaman must be placed in contact with the spirits of the trees by another person already initiated. Some shamans begin to educate their sons when the boys are six years old. Usually, however, the aspirant betakes himself to a master of recognized fame, whom he pays for instruction. This teacher begins only after sunset. Within only two months' time the disciple (nyëna'rįkatį) possesses the most necessary knowledge for curing through suction and by the application of herbs or other medicinal substances.

During this period of instruction he must abstain from sexual intercourse and must follow a diet, eating only certain fishes (cachorra, trahira, sardinha, curimatá, caraüacú vermelho, and jejú, but no scaleless fish) and green bananas, taking care that these last are straight and not curved as they usually are. Among birds especially recommended to him are macucáua (*Tinamus* sp.) and *tangurupará* (*Monassa* sp.). All of his food must contain very little salt; he should completely abstain from pepper, fats, sweets, and alcoholic beverages and should also avoid exposure to the sun.

Initiation is in two parts: in the first, the master presents to the disciple a portion of the magical substances in his body; in the second, he places him in contact with the spirits of the trees. The disciple is specially prepared for the initiation; he must drink a gourdful of tobacco infusion so as to vomit all impurities (puya) acquired through sexual contact; after which he must wash out his mouth. The infusion leaves him in a state of narcosis. The master, by massaging his own body, directs toward his mouth all the magical substances which he possesses, vomiting them in the form of slime (ta:'kaka; l.g., *tacacá*, a beverage of manioc starch). Holding the slime in the palm of his hand, he shows this to the disciple, inviting him to

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lateral hole, a little below the tip. It was so described to me by Nino, who had seen one used by old Romão. I myself never got to see one.

Soul loss.—We have already seen (p. 101) how the spirits of the trees may cause disease, not only at the request of a sorcerer but also spontaneously. In addition, there are still two categories of disease: those caused by soul loss and those caused by epidemics of post-Columbian origin. The tree spirits kidnap the souls of the living, but apparently only those of children, as do the aquatic demon dyë'vaë and the ghosts of the defunct (načii'). For this purpose they whistle and call a child by name when the soul accompanies it by night through the jungle.

Nino told me how the soul of his daughter, ñua'čina, had been stolen when the child was being given a bath in the igarapé. As a result, she became pallid and weak and, had not the shaman Thomaz intervened, she would have died. At nightfall he sang, as the child lay in her mother's arms; he blew smoke over her from heel to head and in the opposite direction, then placed the extinct cigarette butt below the nape of her neck and went to sleep. At midnight he awoke and inquired about the child's condition. She was already nursing again, and her eyes were normal. He then ordered the parents to suspend the cigarette butt from her neck until it should fall of its own accord.

When a child under two years of age cries alone, the shades of the dead arrive and carry off its soul. A shaman may force its return to the body again by the process described above, but the danger is that the soul may have already tasted the food of the shades. In this event, the child begins to eat earth, coal, and so forth, and always dies sooner or later.

Cure of epidemics.—Epidemics come from the sun, where their presence is indicated by a greenish aureole. Without the sun's desire they are carried off by the wind, which spreads them among men. On the occasion of a serious epidemic of catarrh, a certain shaman called the people together, collected the invisible pathogenic substance from each, placed it in an urn, and rendered it harmless by smoking.

Dreams.—During a dream, the soul (naa'ë) abandons the body and has its own adventures, which are real and may be of great consequence. Through dreams the shaman acquires his spirit assistant, gets in touch with the tree spirit, or identifies the sorcerer responsible for a patient's illness or death. We have seen how an injury to the soul of a warlock in a dream excursion caused the warlock's death. Some adventures of the soul in dreams are warnings of things to come in the near future. If a bank subsides or a tree falls on a person in a dream, it is because others plot against him. If he sees himself painted with genipapo, this means blood and that he will be murdered. An encounter with a jaguar in a dream indicates the arrival of a companion or of a member of the čiva' (jaguar) clan, whereas the visit of an Auahy clan member is announced by a dream of a snake. If the snake turns aggressive, however, disease is on the way.

Female witchcraft.—Contrary to what Tessmann was told, there are no female magicians in contact with tree spirits or capable of causing death or of removing the spells put on others. What can happen is this: a woman, in order to injure the object of her hatred, plucks a few of her victim's hairs, which she places in an ant nest. Or she ties them to some branches on the riverbank where their seesaw

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Such are the legends. The idea of heaven as an upper world similar to the earth and with inhabitants like those of the world below is encountered in the legends of the culture-hero brothers relating to the theft of fire (see p. 130) and the origin of languages. These tell how in the old days there was free passage between the two worlds, how this was interrupted, and how thereafter an attempt was made to reëstablish it. All these motives are so common in American mythology that they do not merit further comment.

ta-ë′ *and the souls.*—Quite different, however, is the concept of the most important personage of the upper world, ta-ë′. I do not know of any similar figure in the religion of other tribes. Nothing is known of her origin. She is apparently as ancient as the heaven in which she lives, and is immortal but definitely not omnipotent, nor omniscient, nor infallible. Overburdened with tasks, she may involuntarily cause damage to men through her mistakes. Nothing material in the world was created by her, nor does she govern anything; therefore she is neither the "Common Mother" nor the "Primary Mother" in Baldus' terminology.

Prayers are not directed to her, nor does she receive sacrifices. She has nothing to do directly with the culture-hero brothers, who equal her in importance, or with the spirits of the trees or the demons (ñɔɔ′) of the lower world. No shaman is in communication with her. Nevertheless, for the Tukuna she is a figure of great importance and respect, because of her inseparable connection with the notion of sin and subsequent punishment, in life or after death, since she is the mistress of that part of the human soul called "naa′ë." With the other part of the soul, called "načii′" (shade of the deceased), she has nothing to do.

ta-ë′ does not represent a divine justice that tots up the sins and good deeds of the soul. She takes into consideration only three categories of crime: incest, infanticide (including voluntary abortion), and murder through witchcraft. She does not bother with such trifles as theft or a hot-blooded killing. Incest (vɔ:′mači) is a transgression of the law of exogamy which she established when she taught the first men to which clan each belonged, making them taste the jacuruxy broth (see pp. 58 and 130); this was the only time, however, that she intervened in the work of the culture heroes. Incest is the only crime for which ta-ë′ eventually punishes the sinner, by madness while he is still living.

I have already discussed the fate of an infanticide's soul (p. 69). When the soul of a sorcerer appears before ta-ë′, she treats it in the same fashion as she does that of an infanticide; in fact, the three sins mentioned above are considered almost equal. The gravity of a crime depends upon whether the sin was committed thoughtlessly and with some extenuating circumstances, and whether it is repeated.

If there are extenuating circumstances, the sinner is purified by one of the čorë′ruma, which licks him from toe to crown. However, even if the naa′ë of a perverse and stubborn sinner slips past the tɔ/ri′ta gate, it is torn to shreds by the čorë′ruma or rejected by ta-ë′, who orders lightning to cast it down on the earth again, or even sends it below to the underworld (na:′pį), where it is transformed into a tiny frog (nu:′gu), with whose death it vanishes.

It is noteworthy that the Tukuna regard as crimes these three sins which not only harm the individual but are also ruinous for humanity as a whole: "Thou

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673 art ruining the people!" says ta-ë' to the soul of an obstinate sinner. Furthermore, when I once spoke of the social consequences which incest brings to an incestuous son, a Tukuna cut short my words with: "It's not only that; he disgraces the people."

776 177 *The Christian* ta-ë'.—Up to this point the concept of ta-ë' and her activities, as well as the concepts of soul, sin, and punishment, do not appear to me to have been influenced by Christianity. It is easily understood however, that within this cycle of religious ideas concerning the souls of the dead and an upper world, there have been introduced Christian elements in the form of entire legends. This is due, not to contact with a Christian population, but to incomplete instruction received long ago through missionaries.[11] There is another ta-ë', a caricature of the Virgin Mary appearing in conjunction with "Our Father," ta-na'tị, who unites within himself elements of God the Father and especially of Jesus Christ. There are also the dyure'u [*judeu*, Jew], a combination of the Jews, the story of the Passion of Christ, and the devil. It is amazing how many episodes of the evangelists have contributed to this grotesque conglomeration represented in the following legend of ta-ë', ta-na'tị, and the dyure'u:

ta-ë', ta-na'tị, and the dyure'u

539 776 177 ta-na'tị coveted ta-ë' while she was yet a girl, but she rejected him. Then he transformed himself into a flower by the wayside. ta-ë' plucked the flower, smelled it, and merely because of this became pregnant. She was quite astonished, because she had had sexual relations with no one; at last, however, she realized that ta-na'tị had impregnated her. When after five [*sic*] months she gave birth to a boy, ta-na'tị addressed her from afar: "Do you see? You did not wish me but you shall always have my son!"[12]

ta-na'tị was the wisest of all men. With his magic arts he used to kill the dyure'u (demons with tails like barrigudo monkeys), a more ancient race than men. They resolved to kill ta-na'tị. They tied him to a stake, put out his eyes, and left him exposed to the sun. "We want to see if he is really tupa'na!" [l.g., for "god," or "saint"] they said. tana'tị recovered from this. They crucified him with nails and pierced him with arrows, but he again recovered. Then they strangled him with a rope passed round both his neck and the stake to which he was bound, and this time he died.

They laid the body of ta-na'tị in a coffin, and afterward killed his chickens and sheep. But while they were seated at the table, the roast chicken suddenly sprang up and cried: "ta-na'tị ñüi'u'!" ["ta-na'tị is alive!"], whereupon the pieces of the butchered sheep joined one another and bleated: "bë:! It's a lie!" When the dyure'u went to look, the coffin with ta-na'tị's body was already at a hand's height from the ground and was rising rapidly.

The dyure'u tried to pull it down by a rope passed round it, but the coffin rose without stopping, carrying the dyure'u hanging from the rope. Because of this they are also in heaven. Since then, nothing has been heard of ta-na'tị; today he still lives in heaven, but far away from all the others. The road to ta-ë''s house is partly overgrown by the jungle; the other path, however, which leads to the habitation of the dyure'u is a broad, fine road of sand. The dyure'u duck the arriving souls into a pot of boiling pitch, so that only their fingertips peep out. Afterward they remove them and weigh them, repeating this until the soul has become light enough to appear before ta-ë'. She, however, still scolds the soul before admitting it.

773 776 177 The Tukuna commonly give the title of ta-na'tị ("Our Father") to the twin culture heroes, a title justified by the fact that these are the creators of humanity, or at least the greater part of it, especially of the Tukuna. According to Tessmann. tana'te means "god": "Er hat die Welt gemacht, die Tiere und Berge, Sonne,

[11] Spaniards? See use of the *garrote* in the following legend.
[12] I could learn nothing more of this son.

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Mond und Sterne und auch die Menschen, letztere aus Erde." It is clear that this description refers to the Christian God, not to a personage of the ancient religion.

Even today the Tukuna regard the Jewish peddlers, who sometimes appear in their territory, as the direct descendants of the legendary dyure'u, believing them to be tailed, or that at least one of them[14] is so adorned.

The souls.—The naa'ẽ or soul is, according to an expression of the shaman Calixto daueru'kỵ, "what we think" (or thought)." This type of soul is given the fetus while it is still within the womb; if ta-ẽ' is careless, the child is born spiritually defective.

Dreams are the adventures of the soul, and in them the soul of a wicked sorcerer may commit his crimes in far-off places. The soul, not the body, is responsible for our acts. Its abandonment of the body causes death, after which the soul normally returns to heaven.

The shades of the dead.—Quite different from the role of the naa'ẽ is that of man's second soul, the načii'. Nevertheless, I have repeatedly gained the impression that the Indians do not always distinguish the two clearly. The načii' is the shade of the dead. It "is of no importance," the Tukuna told me; it remains on earth near the place where the individual died. At abandoned house sites (taperas) the načii' congregate, preferably assuming the forms of nocturnal swallows, bacuráos (*Caprimulgus* sp.), but also sometimes those of toads or other creatures. Ribeiro de Sampaio probably referred to this belief when he wrote: "In their philosophy they profess the miserable dogma of metempsychosis, or the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls to another body, even to irrational [*sic*] ones."[15] Most of the time, however, a man's načii' appears in the exact form he had in life, only betraying its nature by certain whimsical habits. The načii' are moderately dangerous, owing to their mania for sucking blood, flesh, and bones of living people, so as to leave only the empty skin. In the Tukuna idiom this is called "to put the genipapo on someone," because of the black color of the marks left by sucking. A few legends will give a better idea of the načii''s habits.

dʊẽ' and the načii'

An Indian named dʊẽ' went out to hunt deep in the jungle; he saw that he was near a house he recognized, in which he thought to spend the night. Dusk was falling when he reached it and found it deserted. The ground inside the house was already covered with mould. The inhabitants had gone fishing on Lake Curaná [between the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and the Solimões], where the Omágua attacked them, killing everyone. dʊẽ' climbed up under the roof of the house to spend the night there, but just as it turned completely dark he heard on the path the cries of many swallows, which began to talk among themselves in the human language. They were the shades of the murdered people of the house, which had returned home. "Daughter," he heard a woman say, "go up to the loft and fetch a little maize so that we may prepare mingau!" Soon the girl, in the form of a swallow, came up by the motá [i.g. for notched-log ladder] to the platform where dʊẽ' lay prone. He seized her and commenced to tear out her feathers.

"Come quickly, my daughter!" said the mother. "I cannot," answered the girl swallow. "This man here is plucking out my feathers!" Then dʊẽ' threw her down from the platform to the floor, where she died; then he pulled the ladder up beside him. The shades gathered round the dead swallow. "We shall put the genipapo marks on this fellow!" they cried. They searched all around

[14] The sense of the passage indicates that these Jewish peddlers travel in pairs.—Trans.
[15] The word means "judgment"; kʊ ñẽ a'ẽ, "thou hast no judgment."
[15] Ribeiro de Sampaio, § 212.

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čuta'nena and the načiĭ'

čuta'nena lived with her husband about a day's journey from her parents' house. She had two sons, of whom the younger was gravely ill. Because of this she decided to take him to her father so that he could cure the child. Since her husband did not wish to accompany her or permit her to leave the older boy with him, čuta'nena set off with both children. It was already very late when she arrived at her father's house, which she found abandoned, for the Onágua had slain all the inhabitants five days before.

Willy-nilly, čuta'nena with her two sons had to spend the night in the deserted house. When it had grown dark, she heard the inhabitants arriving. Her father came at the head of the file. They all looked exactly like living people. The father greeted his daughter, who asked him to cure his little grandson. Suddenly she noticed that the last persons to arrive were bringing a large quantity of bamboo leaves, which are the fish of the načiĭ'. She asked her mother what they were going to do with all those leaves, and received the answer: "Well, aren't they fish?"

At the same time she heard the quiriá, with which a woman was crushing sweet manioc, singing in a human voice: "čuta'nena čanį" nya-a nya-a!" [referring to čuta'nena's privates], which made her uneasy. Meanwhile her father ordered her to fetch him tobacco, of which he thrust a wad in each cheek. Then he uttered his magic formula and began to suck at the sick child. He sucked its ribs and completely emptied its skin. Suddenly he fell backward and, with trembling knees, sang in a guttural voice: "I died a long time ago!" [See p. 104.]

The son was already dead. Then čuta'nena wondered how she might escape. She told her father that the older boy had diarrhoea and that it was necessary to take him into the bush, whereupon the old man replied: "Go, my daughter!" She took a lighted torch, which she placed on end in the jungle at a spot visible to the shades, and in spite of the darkness went with the boy toward her own house. As soon as she arrived, she told her husband of her adventure. He then called his friends, and all went together to bury the child's body. They found it completely black with the "genipapo" of the načiĭ'. After burying it they returned home.

The Underworld

The most ancient beings of the world are the demons, ñoo'. This is also the most insulting name used among the Tukuna. Some demons belong to one of numerous clans, others are merely isolated individuals. They are not immortal, though many have powers making them superior, or at least dangerous, to men. Their appearance, as represented in certain masks, is almost always strange and terrible. Sometimes they are represented in human form; their nature, however, revealed involuntarily, is completely different from that of human beings.

Some of these demons dwell right here on earth; others, like the dyurs'u, in heaven. But the great majority live in subterranean lands (na:'pį), to which they have access by caverns. The subaquatic regions are part of this underworld, which comprises various lands with different conditions and separate entrances. The demons are not their sole inhabitants; other residents are human, although with strange defects: blind men, dwarfs, people without an anus. Information on the subject is given in the following legend of čɔë'.

čɔë' in the Underworld

The Tukuna čɔë' was hunting in the jungle, in order to accumulate the necessary game for a feast he was going to celebrate. He made a little hut, with a platform on which he deposited the smoked game, covering it with leaves, then he again went into the jungle.

Meanwhile, in spite of his efforts, the pile of smoked meat never grew larger, and it even diminished. He lay in wait, and at midnight he saw the foreleg of a jaguar that was stealing the meat. čɔë' told his companions what he had seen, and added: "Tomorrow I'm going to cut off

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539 776 that jaguar's foreleg!" He again lay in wait, and when the foreleg appeared he cut it off. He carried the trophy, together with the meat, to the house, where he showed it to the assembled people, who passed it from hand to hand. Among those present was a king vulture, who himself, in the guise of a jaguar, had stolen the meat. When ɛɔ̈ʼ passed the severed foreleg to him also, he cried: "This arm is mine!" and immediately replaced the severed member in its proper position. Then he rapidly tore out ɛɔ̈ʼs eyes, flying with them to his dwelling in heaven, where he wrapped them in a leaf and with a cipó suspended them from the ridgepole of the house.

A little grasshopper came to blind ɛɔ̈ʼ to ask for smoked meat. ɛɔ̈ʼ promised to give him what he wished if the grasshopper would throw down his eyes, which were in heaven. The grasshopper flew to heaven. He gnawed until his jaws bled, but he could not sever the liana with which the package of leaves was tied, and so he received no smoked meat.

Then, a termite, of the species which constructs its covered galleries on wooden surfaces, came with the same request, which ɛɔ̈ʼ promised to grant if the termite could bring back his eyes. Termite called his companions; they had built their gallery quite close to the package before the king vulture discovered and destroyed their work. The last arrival was the termite that cuts his galleries inside wood; he asked for meat and was promised it in exchange for ɛɔ̈ʼs eyes. With his companions he opened a path inside the post and framework of the house, reached the package, and cut the liana. Allowing it to fall, he shouted: "There go your eyes!" The king vulture, who was burning his clearing, heard the shout and immediately ran over, but ɛɔ̈ʼ had already caught the package and, taking out his eyes, popped them back into place.

ɛɔ̈ʼ fled, pursued by the king vulture, and came to where there was an old woman who was a buzzard (urubú gereba). "Take my old canoe and flee before King Vulture comes!" she counseled him. ɛɔ̈ʼ seated himself in the canoe and pushed off with such force that he broke through the earth and came to stop in the underworld ñëʼa'ku.

The first people he met there were the Blind Ones. Their eyes were permanently closed, but they had a great quantity of provisions, of which ɛɔ̈ʼ appropriated a little to eat. Right away, however, the Blind Ones discovered the theft. "This is ɛɔ̈ʼ who is robbing us!" they cried. With arms linked, they formed a line and advanced against him, beating at random with cudgels. But he evaded them and escaped.

Then ɛɔ̈ʼ came upon the pygmy people, whose adults are only of the height of our six-year-old children; this is why ɛɔ̈ʼ thought that he was dealing with young folk. Going up to the first couple he saw, he asked: "Boy, where is your father?" Then turning to the woman, he said: "Where is your mother, girl?" The dwarf sprang up and called his comrades: "Look you! ɛɔ̈ʼ treats us like children because we are small and he is big!" They all gathered around, shouting: "Let us play a little with him, and we shall see if he is a real man!" In spite of their small stature these pygmies had prodigious strength. They suspended ɛɔ̈ʼ by the tips of two of his fingers, and thus passed him from hand to hand. Then they threw him up into the air, stopping his fall with the palm of a hand. Finally, they sent him away.

Farther on, ɛɔ̈ʼ encountered a people who lacked an anus. They had lots of provisions but could not eat them, limiting themselves to inhaling the odors that drifted up from the cooking. He married a woman of this people. When she observed how her husband ate, she wanted at all cost to imitate him. In spite of ɛɔ̈ʼs advising her not to, she began to eat and found it good. Shortly afterward, however, she began to feel violent pains. ɛɔ̈ʼ counseled her to try to vomit, but she did not succeed. Finally, no longer able to bear the agony, she asked her husband to rip up her anus with a knife. ɛɔ̈ʼ carried out the operation, and she defecated, but she died shortly after. Then ɛɔ̈ʼ returned to the earth's surface.

772 This underworld where ɛɔ̈ʼ sojourned, the same from which aria'na brought maize, is called ñëʼa'ku, "without flower," I do not know why. It is distinct from the other underworld, na:'pį, where the demons live.

776 *The demons.*—The most characteristic demons of the subaquatic world are the dyë'vaë, monsters in the form of gigantic snakes or catfish, which cause treacherous currents. Some are multicolored, like the rainbow, which is nothing but one of these demons. Until the turn of the century there was a dyë'vaë at the mouth of the

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Igarapé de São Jeronymo on the Solimões, which caused an extremely dangerous current costing many lives (see p. 67) and sometimes made it impracticable for anyone to enter the igarapé. The shaman Domingos čuˈnekị—who was the last true chief of the Tukuna of this igarapé and was grandfather of the shaman Calixto daueruˈkị—once passed this place with four other Indians and, finding the current extraordinarily violent, said: "Someone must have irritated the dyë̃ˈvaë̃!" He made an infusion of tobacco in a gourd, drinking it through his nostrils, rolled two long tauarí cigarettes and smoked for a long time. What he did later, Calixto, who was still a boy, did not see, because he slept during the ceremony, but by the next morning the rough current was smooth and quiet.

Later, he heard the old man tell how he had almost failed to return from his visit to the dyë̃ˈvaë̃, and say that now the demon was his friend because he had given him a tobacco infusion to drink through his nostrils. The demon had also told the name of the person who had enraged him, and since then the spot has not been dangerous. Twice a dyë̃ˈvaë̃ tried to run aground on his back, "like on a beach," the canoe in which Calixto was traveling. On one of these occasions the leaves of the trees appeared to him like a kaleidoscope of colors from the reflection of the dyë̃ˈvaë̃'s colors. Calixto saved himself by hanging onto the paddle with all his strength.

Once, during a thunderstorm, in a deep sinkhole (poço) in the Rio Solimões, near the old village of Santa Cruz dos Kokáma, Calixto saw a dyë̃ˈvaë̃ raise his head and neck in the form of a hook above the waters of the river, slowly sinking again. When the head touched the surface of the water, there was a flash of lightning, produced by the demon's opening his eyes beneath the water. This dyë̃ˈvaë̃ owns the fish in the Solimões" and appears as the eastern rainbow; the dyë̃ˈvaë̃ of the western rainbow is the owner of potter's clay [see p. 46]. The legendary mortal enemy of all the dyë̃ˈvaë̃ clan is tau/čipë̃ˈ, who, though of human origin, by his education in the subaquatic world acquired demoniacal qualities that at last turned him into an enemy of humanity.

tau/čipë̃ˈ

A woman in the last stage of pregnancy went to fetch clay with which to make pottery. dyë̃ˈvaë̃, the owner of the clay, became infuriated, pulled her beneath the water, and swallowed her. Arriving home, he vomited her up and quartered her. He and his companions kept the fetus for roe. A female of the large rays asked for it, and they gave her the fetus. She cradled it carefully beneath the undersurface of her flat body, swimming with it to the calm water near the bank. There she deposited it, curving her body over it, and brooded over it a long time. At last she heard the child cry. She removed him and gave him suck. Then, with great care, so as not to drown him, she carried him to her dwelling beneath the water. The ray brought up the child and gave him the name of tau/čipë̃ˈ. She told him that she was not his mother, who had been killed by the dyë̃ˈvaë̃. She made a magic basketwork, placed it on the boy's head, and interlaced his hair with it so that the hair, and with it the boy's strength, would increase.

tau/čipë̃ˈ wanted to kill the dyë̃ˈvaë̃ immediately, but the ray advised him not to try it yet, because he was still very weak. When he was six years old, his hair had already grown down to his belt, and he again insisted on attempting to fight the dyë̃ˈvaë̃, but his foster mother still would not permit it. Two more years passed, and by then his hair had grown down to his heels; then he wished to delay no longer. He broke off branches of the *tazyxiro* tree[11] with fire ants

[11] See the legend of maˈmaneˈki, pp. 151–153.
[11] *Tachygalia* sp. or *Sclerolobium* sp.?

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apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments (rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

Moieties and clans.—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan. A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth.

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in 1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his life and by annihilating his soul after his death.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death.

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky. At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.

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undergo a ceremony performed by some competent shaman, who seeks mainly to protect them from the soul of the murdered witch.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

The upper world.—The upper world, which is much lower than the stars, is divided into two parts. One is inhabited by men, who are like Indians, but live under very different conditions. The other is the residence of the goddess Taé (Our Mother) and of the souls of the deceased (naáe) who have been righteous. On their way to the upper world, souls must pass through a sort of gate made of two wooden posts which move back and forth in opposite directions and exclude the souls of incestuous persons, infanticides, murderers, and evil sorcerers. If, however, an evil soul reaches the residence of Taé, she releases two fantastically shaped monsters which demolish it, or else she throws it back to earth, where it becomes a small frog and eventually dies. Taé orders her monsters to purify the souls of occasional sinners by licking them from head to feet. An infanticide's soul has to appear before Taé with the body of the child across his mouth and eat it as a pap.

Taé is not all-powerful, and makes some careless mistakes. She is not the creator and has no connection with the two culture heroes, who equal her in importance, nor with demons, tree spirits, priests, or shamans. But the *Tucuna* greatly respect her because of her close connection with the punishment of sin, both during and after life, and her role as mistress of that part of the soul called naáë (thought, sense).

The other part of the human soul (natcii) is manifest after death as the "shadow of the deceased." It haunts old house sites and takes a human shape at night but at dawn is transformed into some small animal. It is somewhat feared because of its desire to suck one's blood and eat one's flesh and bones, leaving only the empty skin. Brave and smart people, however, easily fool it.

The lower world.—The oldest beings in the world are the demons of the underworlds (naáe); some are grouped in many clans, and others are unaffiliated. Though mortal, many are superior to or are very dangerous to men. Their appearance, represented in certain masks, is usually strange and horrible, though they sometimes assume human shape. Most of them live in different kinds of underground and subaquatic regions (nápi), which are entered through caves. Certain nápi are inhabited by anthropomorphic beings with strange defects, such as blind men, dwarfs, and men without anuses.

The most important subaquatic demons are the dyévae, who have the shape of gigantic silurides or ophidians. One, the master of fishes, shows itself in the eastern rainbow. Another, the master of potter's clay, appears

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776 [821] as the western rainbow. Some cause the dangerous whirlpools of the Solimões River, but can be calmed by the priests.

[823] [793] **The culture heroes.**—The most outstanding character in *Tucuna* religion is Dyaí, the culture hero, who made people, established all tribal [773] laws and customs, and gave mankind the most important elements of material culture. He was the demons' most feared enemy. At times harsh and cruel, he is never deceitful. Even toward his brother, Epi, an intruder and shameless liar, he is indulgent and kindly, mocking him and punishing him only occasionally. The *Tucuna* avoid using the name Dyaí and call him Tânáti (Our Father), Baiá, or Búi. Sometimes Dyaí is called Téginènapii-va-ya (the one of the right knee), and Epi is called, Tavenapii-va-ya (the one of the left knee).

773 A long myth cycle recounts the origin of Dyaí and Epi and their deeds. Dyaí, with a blowgun in his hand, and his sister Maváca, with a net pouch, were born from the right knee of Nutapa; Epi, with a spear, and his sister Aikine, with a carrying basket, were born from the left knee of Nutapa, who was later killed by a jaguar. The brothers avenged his death and resurrected him. Afterward, Dyaí acquired daylight, sleep, fire, and cultivated plants, and saved Epi from a series of difficulties into which he had thrown himself. The brothers were joined by Teci-ari-nuí, daughter of Aikine, whom Epi had seduced. Dyaí punished the seducer by compelling him to grate himself when he grated the genipa for painting the son of Teci-ari-nuí. After he again took a human shape, the two companions created men from fish caught with a hook. Finally, they separated, Dyaí going east and Epi west.

773 On the bank of the upper Igarapé Preto de São Geronymo the *Tucuna* showed the former site of Taivegíne, Dyaí's house; Epi's house, called 776 Déi, is somewhat downstream. There Epi's son, Teku-kirá, lives today with many other immortals (iíne, or má/gita), the men whom Dyaí and Epi fished out of the water. At night during the full moon one can hear them feasting but no one dares approach for fear of becoming insane. Some mortals (dyunatí) have become immortal by taking a drink offered by the iíne, whereupon they accompany the immortals to their residence.

773 The *Tucuna* have a legend of a world conflagration and a subsequent deluge.

821 The eclipses of the moon are caused by the struggle of a star with a heavenly demon of the Jaguar clan.

668 781 **Messianism.**—The *Tucuna* messianic movement springs from a consciousness of having offended Dyaí, the culture hero, by corrupting their ancient spiritual (not material) culture under the influence of the civilized people, and from a fear that the cataclysms of former times will be re- [787] peated. It also involves the tendency of immortals to appear during a [881] person's puberty. In repeated visions, a pubescent man or woman in seclusion sees and talks with the immortals (má/gita), who sometimes may

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of fermented liquor, the *Ihiéboak* fête. On this occasion dancers, with their heads muffled in bags representing human figures, execute a series of figures more or less successful as an attempt at chorographic art.

On awaking in the morning the young girl finds the floor of the hut strewn with ashes. Without this precaution on the part of those who have shorn and beaten her, *Mhohoh* (the devil), at the moment the soles of the girl's feet touched the ground, would not fail to possess himself of her through the new path provided by nature. This formality concludes the ceremony, and, after the customary ablutions, the girl, again free, awaits without impatience the time when, her hair having grown, she is handed over to a husband. As Ticuna girls are marriageable about their tenth year, and two or three years of delay are necessary that their hair may attain a certain length, it would appear that at twelve or thirteen years of age they may be brought under the yoke of Hymen, a classic phrase very applicable to their lot.

The male children, like those of the Jews, are circumcised a few days after birth. Female children are subjected about their fifth year, and under pretence of circumcision, to a species of mutilation the object of which is unknown to us, but which, if it had been practised in the Isle of Lesbos, in the time of Sappho, Erinna, Telesilla, Myrtis, and Anyta—other and better names I pass by—would have rendered impossible a certain dialogue of Lucian, and deprived Juvenal of the malignant pleasure of writing his satire, *Lesbides infamem*, &c.

At the period when the Ticunas formed a nation under the command of chiefs, instead of being, as now, merely scattered, self-dependent families, they worshipped a god-creator, under the name of *Tupana*;[1] gave thanks to, although abominating, a spirit of evil called *Mhohoh*; and believed that the soul, after the death of the individual, would pass, according to the works during life, either into the body of an intelligent being or into that of an unclean animal. According to their ideas heaven was divided into two spheres, the one superior the other inferior, separated by a transparent vault; in the first the creative spirit Tupana was intrenched; the stars which we see from below are the rays of light from his face, weakened by passing through the intermediate vault and the inferior sphere. Their astronomers admitted the revolution of the earth around the sun, and recognized in this luminary the brother and spouse of the moon. According to them the rivers were the arteries of the terraqueous globe; the streams the veins; and their respective currents were due to the gravitation or simple motion of the planet around the pivotal star or sun.

From their systems of theogony and cosmogony the Ticunas have only preserved a profound indifference for Tupana and a dreadful terror of Mhohoh, who from the rank of a spirit of evil, which he long held among them, has now descended to the vulgar condition represented by the attribute of an evil-eye. All the ardour and intelligence of these savages appears to be turned towards a free traffic in articles of toy-ware, gimcracks, and playthings of all kinds, and cotton handkerchiefs of staring colours.

[1] We may remark, in passing, that in the Yahua and Ticuna idioms, as in those of Omagua and Tupinamba, of which we give specimens farther on, the spirit of good is always termed Tupana, whilst the name of the spirit of evil is different in each idiom.

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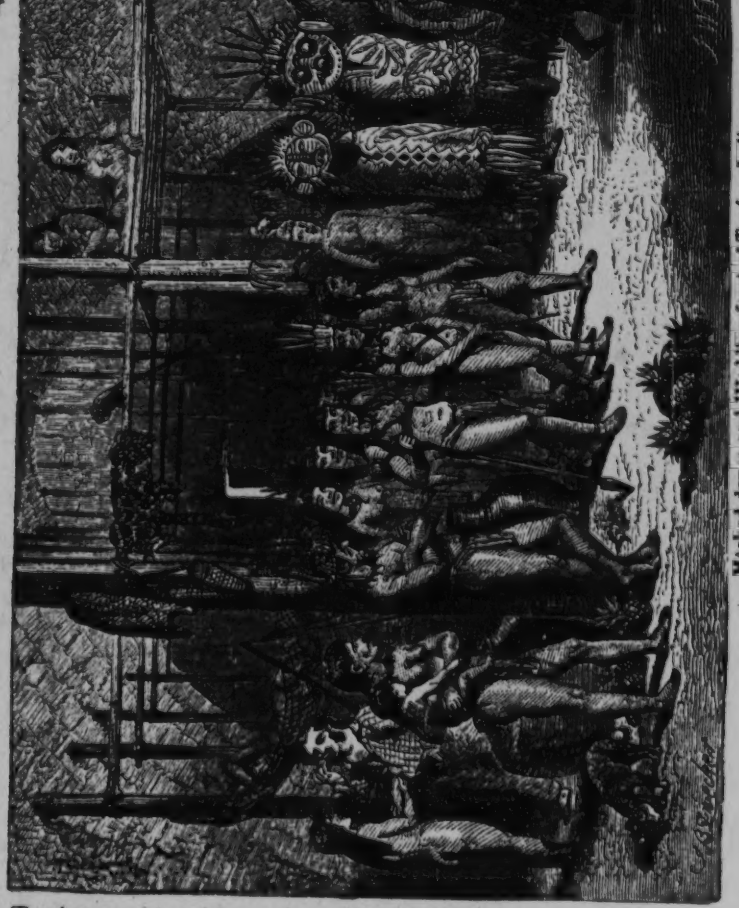
a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, 171
and possessing its pajé or medicine man, who fosters its superstitions; 181
but they are much more idle and debauched than other Indians belonging to the superior tribes. They are not so warlike and loyal as the Mundurucús, although resembling them in many respects, nor have they the slender figures, dignified mien, and gentle disposition of the Passés; there are, however, no trenchant points of difference to distinguish them from these highest of all the tribes. Both men and women are tattooed, 304
the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short straight lines on the face. Most of the older people wear bracelets, anklets, and garters of tapir-hide or tough bark; in their homes they 301 291
wear no other dress except on festival days, when they ornament themselves with feathers or masked cloaks made of the inner bark of a tree. They were very shy when I made my first visits to their habitations in the forest, all scampering off to the thicket when I approached, but on 609
subsequent days they became more familiar, and I found them a harmless, good-natured people.

A great part of the horde living at the first Maloca or village dwell in 342
a common habitation, a large oblong hut built and arranged inside with [621]
such a disregard of all symmetry, that it appeared as though constructed by a number of hands, each working independently, stretching a rafter or fitting in a piece of thatch, without reference to what his fellow-labourers were doing. The walls as well as the roof are covered with thatch of palm-leaves; each piece consisting of leaflets plaited and attached in a row to a lath many feet in length. Strong upright posts support the roof, hammocks being slung between them, leaving a free space for passage and for fires in the middle, and on one side is an elevated stage (*girao*) overhead, formed of split palm-stems. The Tucúnas excel 323
most of the other tribes in the manufacture of pottery. They make 415
broad-mouthed jars, for Tucupí sauce, caysúma or mandioca beer, capable of holding twenty or more gallons, ornamenting them outside with crossed diagonal streaks of various colours. These jars, with cooking-pots, smaller jars for holding water, blow-pipes, quivers, matirí bags * [352]
full of small articles, baskets, skins of animals, and so forth, form the principal part of the furniture of their huts, both large and small. The dead bodies of their chiefs are interred, the knees doubled up, in large 766
jars under the floors of their huts.

The semi-religious dances and drinking bouts usual amongst the [273]
settled tribes of Amazonian Indians are indulged in to greater excess [535]
by the Tucúnas than they are by most other tribes. The Juruparí or 776
Demon is the only superior being they have any conception of, and his name is mixed up with all their ceremonies, but it is difficult to ascertain what they consider to be his attributes. He seems to be believed in simply as a mischievous imp, who is at the bottom of all those mishaps

* These bags are formed of remarkably neat twine made of Bromelia fibres [286]
elaborately knitted, all in one piece, with sticks; a belt of the same material, but more closely woven, being attached to the top to suspend them by. They afford good examples of the mechanical ability of these Indians. The Tucúnas also possess the [281]
art of skinning and stuffing birds, the handsome kinds of which they sell in great [439]
numbers to passing travellers.



Masked dance and Wedding-feast of Tucúna Indians.

776 a Tucúna on this subject; they affect great mystery when the name is mentioned, and give very confused answers to questions: it was clear,

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776 of their daily life, the causes of which are not very immediate or obvious to their dull understandings. It is vain to try to get information out of

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however, that the idea of a spirit as a beneficent God or Creator had not entered the minds of these Indians. There is great similarity in all their ceremonies and mummeries, whether the object is a wedding, the celebration of the feast of fruits, the plucking of the hair from the heads of their children, or a holiday got up simply out of a love of dissipation. Some of the tribes on these occasions deck themselves with the bright-coloured feathers of parrots and macaws. The chief wears a head-dress or cap made by fixing the breast-feathers of the Toucan on a web of Bromelia twine, with erect tail plumes of macaws rising from the crown. The cinctures of the arms and legs are also then ornamented with bunches of feathers. Others wear masked dresses: these are long cloaks reaching below the knee, and made of the thick whitish-coloured inner bark of a tree, the fibres of which are interlaced in so regular a manner, that the material looks like artificial cloth. The cloak covers the head; two holes are cut out for the eyes, a large round piece of the cloth stretched on a rim of flexible wood is stitched on each side to represent ears, and the features are painted in exaggerated style with yellow, red, and black streaks. The dresses are sewn into the proper shapes with thread made of the inner bark of the Uaissíma tree. Sometimes grotesque head-dresses, representing monkeys' busts or heads of other animals, made by stretching cloth or skin over a basket-work frame, are worn at these holidays. The biggest and ugliest mask represents the Juruparí. In these festival habiliments the Tucúnas go through their monotonous see-saw and stamping dances, accompanied by singing and drumming, and keep up the sport often for three or four days and nights in succession, drinking enormous quantities of caysúma, smoking tobacco, and snuffing paricá powder.

I could not learn that there was any deep symbolical meaning in these masked dances, or that they commemorated any past event in the history of the tribe. Some of them seem vaguely intended as a propitiation of the Juruparí, but the masker who represents the demon sometimes gets drunk along with the rest, and is not treated with any reverence. From all I could make out, these Indians preserve no memory of events going beyond the times of their fathers or grandfathers. Almost every joyful event is made the occasion of a festival: weddings amongst the rest. A young man who wishes to wed a Tucúna girl has to demand her hand of her parents, who arrange the rest of the affair, and fix a day for the marriage ceremony. A wedding which took place in the Christmas week whilst I was at St. Paulo, was kept up with great spirit for three or four days, flagging during the heats of mid-day, but renewing itself with increased vigour every evening. During the whole time the bride, decked out with feather ornaments, was under the charge of the older squaws, whose business seemed to be sedulously to keep the bridegroom at a safe distance until the end of the dreary period of dancing and boosing. The Tucúnas have the singular custom, in common with the Collínas and Mauhés, of treating their young girls, on their showing the first signs of womanhood, as if they had committed some crime. They are sent up to the girao under the smoky and filthy roof, and kept there on very meagre diet, sometimes for a whole month. I heard of one poor girl dying under this treatment.